/270 cont./

621 and the children under 15 years of age certainly not exceeding
162 ten, only two or three of them being younger. The physical type
142 seems well preserved; the number of handsome and healthy individuals—especially among the men—were in the large majority
[141] (Pl. VII, A-B, A /see p. 45 /: Tõnkŏd'daᵕ, around 25 years old;
1.723 meters tall; horizontal cephalic index: 84.65). The dis-
164 eases which rage in the region—yellow fever and smallpox—are those which eliminate rather than impair. Many natives bear traces of the last, however. A leper was living in the village.
[732] Along with a blind man, he represented the only infirmities.

191 Only one native, an escapee from the missions, spoke fluent Portuguese, which it seems he had formerly been able to read and write. Five or six understood it but had a vocabulary of only a few words at their disposal. The others did not know the language at all.

Structure of the Village

616 Kejara aldeia is divided into two exogamous phratries, named
614 respectively Tugare and Čera. The meaning of these terms was
[621] never specifically stated to us; only once, in connection with clan Ki, which means tapir, it was mentioned to us that all the Čera are tapirs. Each of these phratries is divided into several clans (1).

1. The term võbe, which we translate this way, means precisely "group of relatives."

or groups of clans, a list of which follows:

Tugare phratry:
Paiwe (Hedgehog) clan
Ārõre (Catepillar) clan
Ewåguddu (Buriti) clan
Apibore clan.

/271/

616 Čera Phratry:
614 Bādejaba (Chief) clan
O Čera (Čera of the Ibis) clan
Ki (Tapir) clan
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Big-Armadillo-Red-Arara-Gilthead) clan
Bakoro clan
Bóro (Pendant of the lower lip) clan

Beside these clan divisions properly so called one finds a certain number of distinctions of different character (Note I, p. 37).

361 The morphological structure of the village directly indicates
621 the social organization. The houses are distributed around a big
[345] circle, the approximate center of which is occupied by the men's house (baite-mannanage°); the latter is built on a north-south axis.
621 A line west-southwest and east-northeast, very oblique in relation
616 to this axis, divides the village into two practically equal halves:
614 the southeastern part comprises the Tugare houses; the northwestern part is formed by the Čera houses. The diameter of the circle having been set a little too short for the number of houses, one house belonging to the Ki clan has been pushed slightly behind the alignment (Pl. VIII, A /see p. 46/): in the foreground the O Čera čębegeʷõ hut partly hiding a Ki hut. In the background, from left to right, the Ki kujagoreõ, Bokodori čębegeʷõ, and Bokodori-Kōge baiaddadzᵃ huts). Numerous native sources state that in the past this situation was normal and that the village was composed of several concentric circles, the houses belonging to the same clan being located approximately one behind the other.

621 The layout of the village thus expresses the social structure.
616 But it also expresses its geographical position. A second axis, very
614 oblique in relation to the preceding one and perpendicular to the
823 course of the river, in turn divides the village into two halves, the Čãbōgeʷõge, i.e., "the upstream ones," and the Čębegeʷõge, or "downstream ones." Each of these halves evidently includes houses belonging to both phratries. And the spatial distribution of the clans in the interior of each hemicycle causes three of them to

/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614 Ewãguddudõge čẹbegeᵂõge: those of the downstream Buriti
823 Ewãguddudõge čãbõgeᵂõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Ãróre čẹbegeᵂõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Ãróre čãbõgeᵂõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbegeᵂõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeᵂõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O. Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaᵂge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6 /). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹjeᵂõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjeᵂo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewãguddudõge bo'pokẹjeᵂõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewãguddudõge kurigeᵂ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

/272 cont./

552 592 614 Thus we have (Fig. 15, No. 17 /see p. 6 /) Ệwâguddudōge eten'manaāge: those of the Elder Brothers of the Buriti, and (18) Ệwâguddudōge etu'ieemage: those of the Younger Brothers of the Buriti.

614 It is also possible that the adoption or division of emblems among the members of the same clan results in the creation of other secondary determinants. /273/ Several clans are divided in this manner into two subclans distinguished respectively by the colors red and black. Thus:

Apibore Čoreŏ: black (23)
Apibore kujagoreŏ: red (22)
Paiwe Čoreŏ (25)
Paiwe kujagoreŏ (26)
Ệwâguddu Čoreŏ (15).
Ệwâguddu kujagoreŏ (18).

/Figure 15 appears here./ /274/

Some groups of clans perhaps came from a single clan, as they seem to share emblems: the Bóro acquired an object associated with the legendary history of the Bakoro clan, of which they were no doubt formerly a part, in the same way as the O Čera, themselves also inheritors of a legendary animal of the clan. The Bokodori clan is subdivided into Kōge (gilthead) and Čiba (red arara); but it is not clear whether this is truly a question of subdivisions of a main clan or of a homogeneous clan designating itself by three emblems: "Bokodori and Kōge, Bokodori and Čiba," the natives say, "it's the same thing."

621 552 592 The number of terms used for the definition of the groups is thus clearly more important than the number of houses of the village. The result of this is, first, that different informants do not always designate the same houses by using the same adjectives; the same informant varies equally according to the time and the circumstances. In the second place, each house, or almost each, is found to have, if not always its own name, at least a set combination of the names of the clan, of the position, of the family, etc., which belong /sic/ to it alone. The Bororo village

[TEXT Continues on P. 7]

/273 cont./

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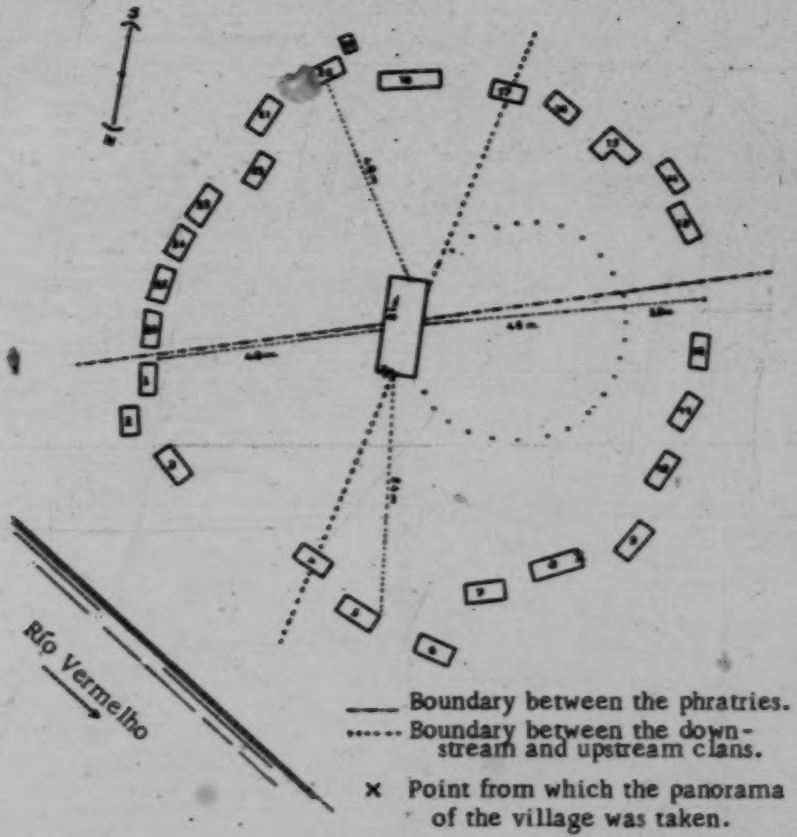
Rio Vermelho
Boundary between the phratries.
Boundary between the down-stream and upstream clans.
× Point from which the panorama of the village was taken.

Fig. 15.—Plan of Kejara aldeia. Above the boundary between the phratries: the Tugare; below it, the Ẍera. The Ẍaböge$^{\omega}$öge are on the left (upstream) and the Ẍẹbege$^{\omega}$öge on the right (downstream) of the axis which separates them; in the middle, the Baiaddaðe$^{\pi}$ge.

/274 cont./ The Bororo Village

621 552 592 614 616 is thus composed above all of an ensemble of households, that is, of families or groups of families, living in the same house and styled under this relationship alone. The denomination of the household always involves, among other things, the name of the clan; sometimes it involves the name of the phratry, as is most frequently the case with the Čera. Here is a type list of the households of Kejara aldeia as we were able to make up on the basis of information gathered from our different informants, or from the same one on different occasions (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/).

Čera Phratry:

(Čãbõge^{w}õ half)
1. Bóro Čera
2. Bakoro Čera-Nogujeba
3. Čiba Čera-Bokodori Čãbõge^{w}õ
4. Kõge Čera-Bokodori baiaddada^{n}

(Čẹbege^{w}õ half)
5. Bokodori Čera Čẹbege^{w}õ
6. Ki kujagore^{n}õ
7. Ki
8. O Čera Čẹbege^{w}õ
9. O Čera
10. Bãdejeba Čẹbege^{w}õ
11. Bãdejeba Čẹbege^{n}õ baiaddadawõ (1)

[128]

1. We are allowing this significant anomaly, which expresses the disagreement of two informants as to the position of the diameter of the baiaddada^{n}ge (11-20, and 4-17 /see Fig. 15/), to stand.

12. Bãdejeba Čẹbege^{w}õ bo'pokẹje^{w}õ

/275/

Tugare Phratry:

13. Āróre čębegeᵂõ
14. Āróre čębegeᵂõ
15. Ẹ̊wåguddu čereð kurigeð čębegeᵂõ
16. Ẹ̊wåguddu bo'pokẹjeᵂõ čębegeᵂõ
17. Ẹ̊wåguddu baiaddadaᵂ eten'manaãge
18. Ẹ̊wåguddu kujagoreð etu'ieemage čãbõgeᵂõ (čãbõgeᵂõ half)
19. unoccupied shelter
20. Āróre čãbõgeᵂõ baiaddadaᵂ (1)

[128]

1. Cf. Footnote 1, p. 7.

21. Āróre čãbõgeᵂõ
22. Apibore kujagoreð
23. Apibore čoreð
24. Apibore
25. Paiwe čoreð
26. Paiwe kujagoreð

Houses belonging to the same clan are placed side by side, with the exception of those of the Āróre clan, which is separated into two groups by the Ẹ̊wåguddu clan.

Connections with the Economic Organization

It is difficult to ascertain whether the influence of the natives' contact with civilized people (2) have greatly modified their

2. We are using this term exclusively to designate the Indian Protection Service. Actually, it would be absolutely impossible to understand the relative stability of the material culture of the Bororo

/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 idered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
412 elieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him, thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[437] Tuïawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons, and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for commissions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[237] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left without saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return without the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example, but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother or grandmother to daughter or grandddaughter by deed of gift.

/277 cont./

556 Hence they constitute true hereditary property of which the women
562 are the usufructuaries and from the possession of which they draw extreme haughtiness and arrogance.

556 Lastly, other elements of wealth are tied in an even more
[181] intimate fashion to the social structure. In a collectivity whose clearest activity is expended in chants and dances, everything used for ritual ornamentation /278/ has a special value. This is
556 why feathers, the real raw material for social and religious dis-
237 plays, form a wealth of a completely special kind. Each native
[415] has a capital of feathers, carefully kept in long boxes of cylindrical
[735] wood, which have a fixed "market price" according to kind, color, and form. There are common and precious ones. But the
556 use of each type of valuable feather is the privilege of one clan.
237 The ordinary feathers are also regulated: their use, the type of
614 object in the composition of which they enter, the technique of
556 manufacture, and finally the style vary with the clan. This
614 specialization extends to practically the totality of manufactured products: arrows, bows, weapons, necklaces, pendants, headdresses, etc. Further on we will set forth what we were able to gather on these social privileges. All the clans are not equal as to the variety of arms and ornaments which they have the right to make, nor as to the rarity of raw materials which they alone have the right to utilize. Some clans, for example, can make several types of bows, others only one; some have rich ornaments among their prerogatives, while others are limited to modest forms or materials.

571 To all these secondary distinctions which we have previously
614 enumerated, an economic hierarchy of rich, modest, and poor clans should be added. The ᵊKario Bōkodori clan, extinct in Kejara, was especially rich according to the natives; the clans or subclans Āróre Čāböge^{w}ōge, Ẻwåguddudoge Čāböge^{w}ōge, and Ẻwåguddudoge bo'pokẹjewōge are rich. At a more modest level are the Ki, Kōge, Čība, Bakoro, Bóro, Paiwe, Apiborege, Ẻwåguddudoge baiaddadaᵊge, and O Čera clans.

The Bādejebage Čẹbege^{w}ōge were given to us as especially poor.

/278 cont./

554 Finally, it seems that the economic hierarchy is continued
551 within the clans and that economic differences accompany the
614 bearing of certain names which are the property of the clans.
[582] These names or classes of names intervene with regard to marriage rules.

Preferential Unions

123 We were not present at any marriage during our stay. The
764 village was entirely absorbed with funeral ceremonies.

582 It was explained to us that a young girl who wants to marry
614 goes into the Baitemannanage* to find the spouse whom she has
616 chosen. But /279/ we must pause on the conditions of this choice.
[345] The exogamy of the phratries does not constitute the only matrimonial prohibition. Each clan contracts marriage, at least preferentially, with a limited number of clans from the opposite phratry, one, two, or three. But these preferential unions are less the province of the clan itself than the internal divisions in the clan, which perhaps have an economic significance but whose essential role seems to be to regulate marriages and which do not coincide exactly with any of the secondary distinctions studied before.

582 Most often these distinctions are established by proper names.
614 It would be a question then of classes each composed of a single
551 individual, or a very small number at least. Given the collapse
[161] of the demographic base of Bororo society, it could hardly be otherwise, even if in the past the categories were more numerous.

The list of clan names which we were able to gather, with the indication of corresponding marriages, is given below.

CONTINUED
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NEXT FICHE

/279 cont./

Cera Phratry

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Clan	Name	Marries with
Bādejeba	Bakorokuddu (name of a legendary hero)	Āróre čābōgeᵘ̯ō
	Iparečẹba (id.)	Āróre baiaddadaᵃ
	Wapa (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Merit'awāra (The Path of the Sun)	Apibore bo'pokẹjewo
O Čera	Uaboreᵭ (?-Uabo: heart)	Ewāguddu
	At'ugoreᵭ (The Painted Man)	Āróre čẹbegeᵘ̯ō
Ki	Kibakororo (Bakororo, The Tapir)	Ewāguddu bo'pokẹjewo
	Tu'goga (?-Tugo: arrow)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Māra (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ

/280/

Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge	Kōge (Cilthead)	Ewāguddu čoreᵭ
	Bokodori Baro (?)	Ewāguddu baiaddadaᵃ
	Ariga Čoča (?-Ariga: puma)	Ewāguddu čābōgeᵘ̯ō
Bakoro	Nogujeba (legendary hero)	Apibore (Kru'guga uobẹ)
	ᵃKario Bokodori (legendary hero who named an extinct clan)	Apibore (Brogẹ)

/280 cont./

582
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616
551

Cera Phratry

Clan	Name	Marries with
Bóro	Bok'arebo (?) Jerégi-čodo (Old Tortoise)	Ārŏre baiaddada Apibore kujagoreŏ

Tugare Phratry

Paiwe	Baiporo (door?) Meriri kurigeŏ (Big Light)	Bokodori Čera Bakoro Čera
Apibore	Broge (?-indicates wealth) Kru'guga uobe (Relative of the Eagle-throat; indicates wealth)	Bakoro Čera Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge
Ewāguddu	Tad'ugo (?-indicates wealth) Aria kurigeŏ (Big Saucepan?) Butaregāde (?)	Ki Ki Bokodori
Ārŏre	Baitogógo (legendary hero)	Bādejeba

582
614 This table, which is no doubt incomplete, suggests the following conclusions:

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614

five clans contract marriage with three clans. These are: /281/

Bādejeba (Apibore, Ewāguddu, Āróre)
Bakoro (Paiwe, Apibore, Āróre)
Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge (Paiwe, Apibore, Ewāguddu)
Apibore (Bādejeba, Bakoro, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)
Ewāguddu (Bādejeba, Ki, Bokodori-Čiba-Kōge)

two clans contract marriage with two clans:

Paiwe (Bakoro-Bokodori)
Āróre (Bādejeba-Bóro)

one clan marries with only one clan:

Ki (Ewāguddu)

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[582]

The study of kinship terminology permits us to state precisely this system of preferential union. The native vocabulary distinguishes, in fact, for most degrees of kinship, between the elder and younger. Thus:

ogwa umanna: father's elder brother
ogwa uie: father's younger brother
mugā vuri: mother's elder brother
mugā uie: mother's younger brother
ogwa utuge: father's elder sister
ogwa uie: father's younger sister
māna: elder brother
uie: younger brother (or sister)
utuge: elder sister.

On the other hand there is only one term to represent several kinship relations in the following cases:

marúga: ancestor, father's elder sister, mother-in-law (man speaking)
ure: mother's brother, elder brother (woman speaking)
uie: younger brother, male cousin
iędaga: father-in-law, father's father
mugā pega: mother-in-law, father's mother (literally: bad mother).

/282 cont./

582 60 Likewise, the sister marries her mother's brother's son or her elder brother's son. From the point of view of the marriage rules, each generation finds itself thus cut into two halves, the elder ones marrying within their generation, or in the one immediately above, into which they are assimilated, whereas the younger ones find their spouse within their generation or in the one immediately below, with which they are assimilated. Thus, a young Bororo man will distinguish in the clearest fashion among his mother's sisters, between the younger ones, who are for him so many possible wives, and the elder ones, who are the mothers /283/ of his other contingent spouses; he will hence identify his younger aunts and their nieces.

[55] [61] Only further investigations will be able to tell whether, as is probable, the classes of names determining preferential unions within each clan, which we have enumerated above, correspond to the division of generations into elder and younger; this appeared already manifest in the secondary determinations of the Ewáguddu clan (Fig. 15, Nos. 17 and 18 /see p. 6/).

Leadership

634 Kejara village is the residence of the general chief of all the Bororo of the Río Vermelho and of the upper São Lourenço. This individual is called Tuẏawa; the Brazilian fishermen in the region have nicknamed him Cadet. At the time of our stay he seemed to be about 60 years old.

He enjoyed a great deal of authority, although the natives did not deprive themselves of having a go at him—in his absence —without ill-will. They joked about his laziness and his habit of making subordinates work for his benefit. But during our entire stay we never saw any order of his not scrupulously carried out.

[24] He himself boasted of having re-established economic equilibrium in the village, after the foundation of the Indian Protection Service, by having great expanses cleared and rice planted. On two

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

/285 cont./ Tuřawa, The
634 apparent holder of almost absolute power (on the temporal plane,
614 of course) (1) belonged to the Bakoro clan, while the Bādejeba or
591

1. We are completely leaving aside all that is related to spiritual power and religious life.

Chief clan was depicted to us as "very poor" and in a "lower" position (Note II, p. 41).

/286/ Privileges and Obligations of the Clans

614

Clans are tied to one another by a network of reciprocal obligations and rights.

[121] An extensive study of this system of prestations would seem to be of particular urgency. Our too brief stay only allowed us to
[616] determine three incontestable cases where a phratry was under obligations to its opposite number.

881 At the time of the initiation of the young men, the village
616 chief entrusts the care of their preparation to the men of the opposite phratry to theirs.

764 At the death of an Indian a collective hunt is organized by the
224 tribe: this hunt must be ended by the killing of a chosen animal.
[616] Now, it is to a hunter of the opposite phratry to that of the deceased that the latter's nearest relative entrusts the funeral emblems and the responsibility of leading the expedition at his death. On our arrival at Kejara aldeia, funeral ceremonies were beginning. But the ritual hunt took place on the very day when we reached the village. Hence we could not go along.

764 Finally, the dances carried out at the time of funerals fall
535 on certain clans which are specialists in their preparation. Thus
614 the festival of the marid'do (1) /287/ is placed under the patronage
616

764 1. The marid'do is a sort of very
535 long, flexible ladder, the rungs of
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/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green palm. Each rung is made of a bundle of two (big marid'do) or three (small marid'do) sections. Gradually during the construction, the ladder is rolled up on itself until it forms, in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides are then decorated with green palm, held in place by a net of cords made of women's hair. The top of the disk is decorated for a length of about 50 cm. with applications of down. The large marid'do is called
[614] ɛ̀wãguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the small one, ɛ̀wãguddudoge kujagoreŏ marid'do. But it is not necessarily natives of this clan who have made them. Some time before the festival the two marid'do are solemnly taken out of the men's house and taken to the middle of the bororo, where they are placed parallel, about two meters apart, and on the axis separating the phratries. The dance of the marid'do lasts two days; each protagonist tries to lift one of the disks at arm's end and to hold it as long as possible while running and jumping in the plaza. Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony (Pl. VIII. C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X, B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

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are sung without stopping:

ᵂure ᵂure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'ę	we others
čę	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čęgiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewâguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bădejeba) another ceremony took place under
● 614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewâguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage°, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
[283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassû (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

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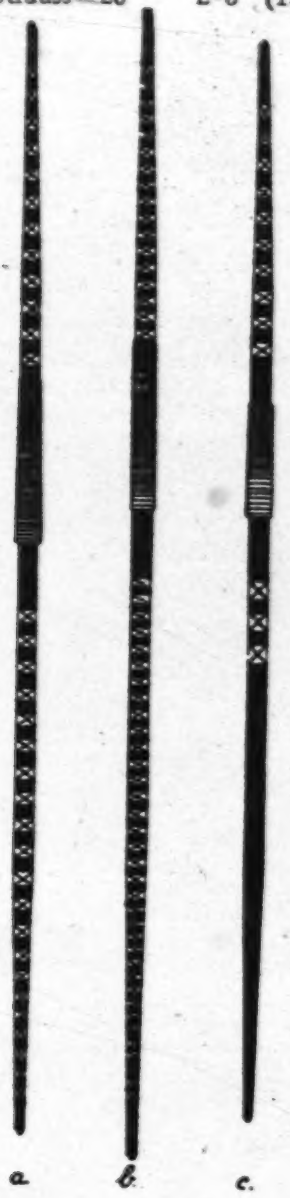

Fig. 16.—Bows for big hunting.

a: Ki clan (21/12)
b: Apibore clan (38/18)
c: Bādejeba clan (3/10)

/288 cont./

411 the ceremonial bow. As in the preceding type, /289/ the
531 central part is of bare wood, save for the protective rolling. All
237 the rest of the bow is covered with ornamentation which varies with different specimens: sheaths of glued on feathers, rings of feathers or fur, mosaics of feathers of different colors, etc.... All along the wood long feathers or throat feathers of the arara, in pairs or singly, are attached. Finally, some specimens show a bunch of varicolored feathers at the top end.

411 The origin of the bow can be deduced from the three follow-
531 ing elements: 1) nature and color of the casing of the wood;
237 2) number, distribution, nature, and color of the feathers adhering
614 to the wood; 3) nature of the feathers or insignia placed in the bunch at the top; thus, some bows of the Bakoro clan have, in the middle of the feathers at the end, a small wooden lath covered with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, this technique being its privilege.

Figure 17 /see p. 29/ gives four "formulas" for ceremonial bows:

a. Not identified; 1.52 meters long. Wood covered with small red /rouge/ feathers glued on with resin; on the sides two crests of white /blanc/ down broken in the middle.

br: blue and red arara feathers
vr: green and red arara feathers
bj: blue and yellow arara feathers
bn: throat feathers in alternate white and black bands
j: yellow toucan feathers.

b. Āróre clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with red feathers glued on. All the hanging feathers are attached in pairs. Top bunch of small red and yellow parrot feathers, with five long emblematic feathers.

b: blue —r: red
br, bj, bn: as above.

c. Āróre (čębegeʷõ) clan; 1.62 meters long. Wood covered with alternate rings of black, yellow /jaune/, and red feathers glued on.

/289 cont./

411 r, bj, br: as above.

531 d. Čiba Čera clan; 1.50 meters long. Wood covered with
237 red feathers glued on, with rings of white down. Feathers are
614 attached in an asymmetrical fashion in pairs and singly.

br, bj: as above.

Ewaguddu clan specimen gives the following formula (Fig. 18 /see p. 31/): /290/ /Figure 17 appears here./ /291/ wood covered with red glued on feathers with incrustations on the inner surface of small squares of yellow feathers (lower half, four groups of six; upper half, three groups of six). At the top a bunch of small yellow and red parrot feathers, with seven arara feathers: br, bj, br, bj, br, bj, br. All the ornamental feathers attached in pairs. Lower half: br, br-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, bj. Upper half: br, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-bj, br-bn, bn-br, br-br, br.

411 Arrows. The arrows used in Kejara aldeia are of four types:
harpoon-arrows for fishing, undifferentiated;
"macaco" arrows, with a point made of a sharpened bone on the wooden head, undifferentiated;
bird arrows, with a club-head, undifferentiated;
ounce arrows, subdivided into two types:

[616] [531] 1) point of notched wood; one row of notches indicates the Čera, two, the Tugare.

2) point cut with a deep bevel forming a groove.

411 Most of the ounce arrows have at the lower end, between the
531 arrow feathers, a decoration which is the mark of the owner's clan.
614 Figure 19, A-L /see p. 32/ reproduces 12 arrows with emblems:

A. Paiwe — B. Kario Bokodori — C. Ewaguddu (?) — D. Apibóre kujagoreb — E. Bóro Čera — F. Ki — G. Apibore — H. Bādejeba (Bakoro) — I. Āróre — J. Kōge Čera — K. Bokodori-Čiba-Čera — L. Āróre.

[237] Specimens A and H are decorated with pieces of glued on feathers. F, J, K, and L are adorned with small colored tufts made from quill feathers.

[Text continues on p. 30]

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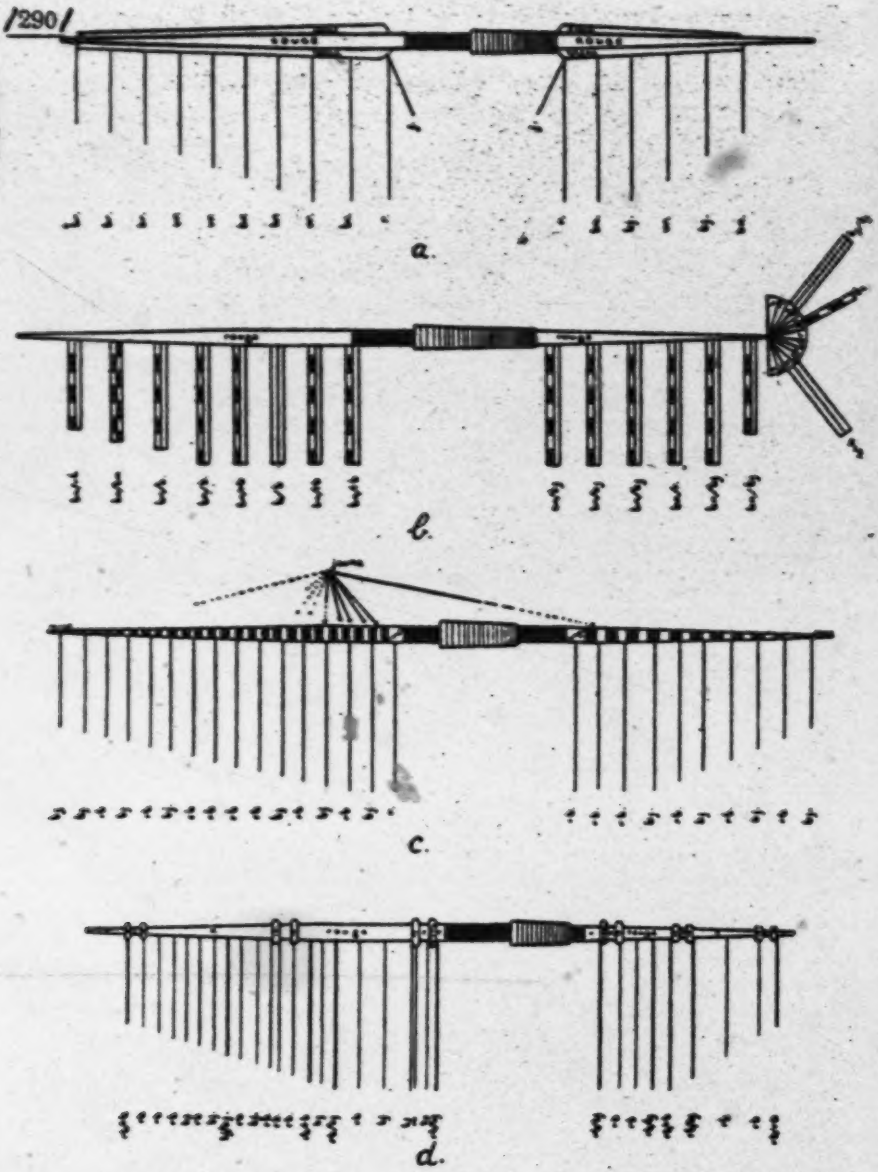

Fig. 17. Ceremonial bows.

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

[239] B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills, decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

531 The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[301] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution
[239] (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

1:Lévi-Strauss-p31 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

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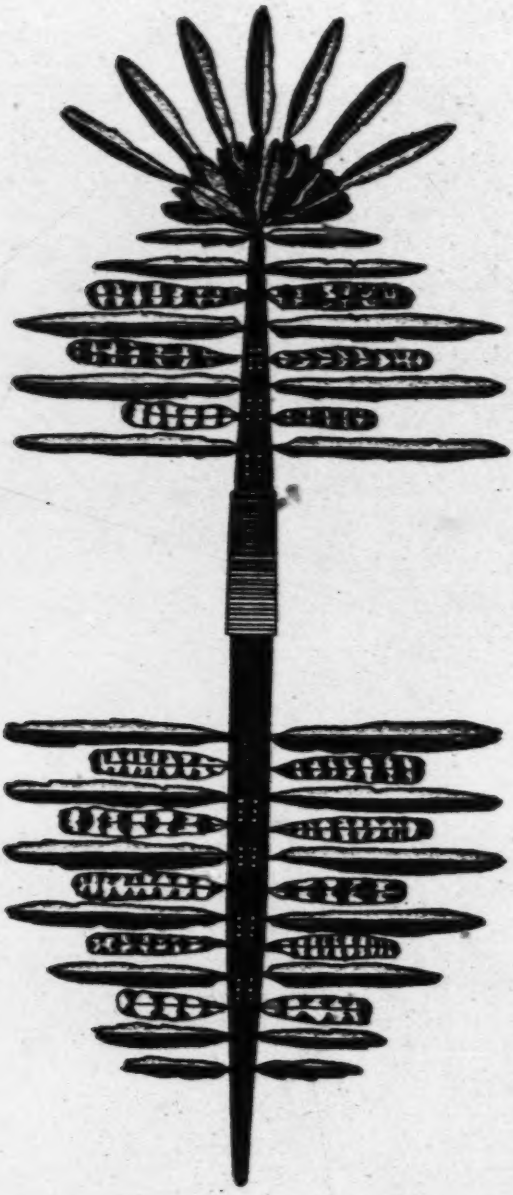

Fig. 18. —Ceremonial bow /in color in original/.

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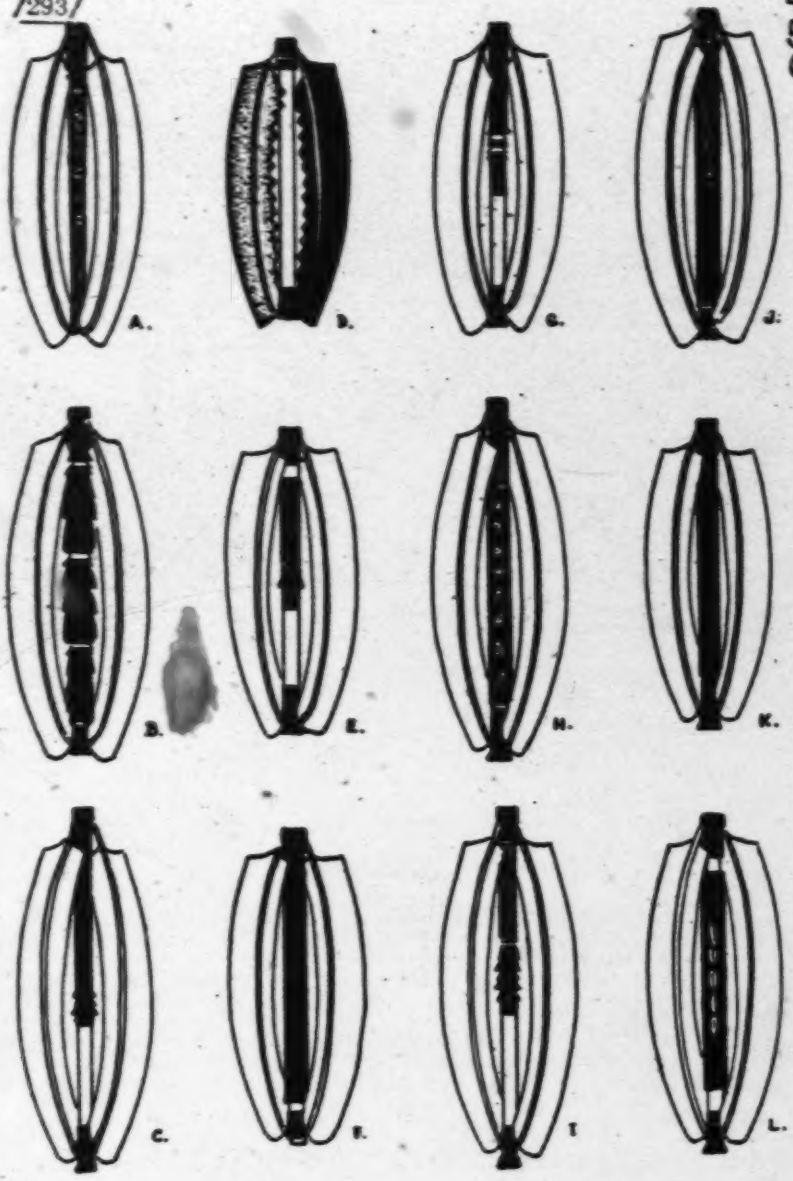

Fig. 19.—Arrows with emblems /in color in original/.

/294 cont./ In contrast, on ceremonial
292 days the men make and wear special bands, in which the end is
531 cut off, painted, and embellished with appliqué of down or
614 feathers, in such a way as to form a kind of small, rigid banner distinctive of the owner's clan (Pl. VII, D /see p. 45/). We have reproduced 18 specimens in Fig. 20 /see p. 35/:

A. without a mark
B. unidentified
C. Čiba Čera
D. unidentified
E. Kõge Čera
F. Paiwe kujagoreõ
G. Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjwo
H. Paiwe čoreõ
I. (Bokodori) or (Ẹwãguddu) Baiaddadaᵒᵘ
J. Ãróre Čẹbegeʷõ
K. Ãróre
L. Ki
M. Ẹwãguddu Čãbõgeʷõ
N. Bakoro
O. Bóro Čera
P. Ąpibore
Q. Ẹwãguddu
R. unidentified

[386] /295/ They are painted in red and black (urucú seeds crushed in fish fat, and resin, kid'doguru), with appliqué of white down.

Specimen L represents one of the eponyms of the Ki clan, the puma.

G perhaps evokes the form of the crocodile, the eponym of the Bãdejebage.

182 There are hardly any objects which do not thus express, each in its own way, the owner's social position. This is the case with
30 the labial pendant, three types of which exist: the rigid pendant,
614 needle-shaped, made of bone, hardened resin, and—since the
[439] natives are able to procure old cartridges—beaten copper, seems the privilege of a single clan (1); another make, of wood covered

1. All the copper specimens that we got belonged to various parts of the Paiwe clan.

with feathers, a plait, or shell fragments, and terminated at the lower end with a bunch of feathers, indicates the clan by the color or nature of the ornamentation; finally, a last type is constituted by a string of small fragments of mother-of-pearl or

/295 cont./

301 614 bone. The shape of these fragments—square, ovoid, round, pisciform, etc.—their size and number, reveal the origin.
[292] Plate X, C /see p. 48/ shows a Čiba Čera native in festival costume, with the nasal ornament, an exclusive privilege of the Bokodori-Čiba-Kõge, and the labial pendant of his clan.

[237] The clan mark on the large pendants made up of the claws of the big armadillo is constituted by the color of the central cotton fringe and by the number and shape of the fragments of mother-of-pearl incrusted in the resin casing.

301 237 614 Feather diadems bear their mark (analogous to that of arrows) on a wood lath placed in the middle of the feathers (Pl. X, C). The crowns are distinguished by color and material (thus the Paiwe wear a band of black monkey fur with yellow feathers, the Bakoro, red feathers on a plaited mounting of porcupine quills, the Bokodori, yellow and red feathers, etc...). These colors are
[534] repeated in the feather chignons, the ceremonial trumpets (ika and po^{a}ri), the various body and head ornaments, and the flutes often covered with feathers (black and white among the Ki); the diadems of ounce claws are distinguishable by their size and the closeness or distance between the prongs.

Crafts

616 [534] [973] [302] One important privilege, not of a clan but of a phratry, resides in the exclusive right of the Čera to make the "bull-roarers /given in English/" (Pl. X, D); the term /296/ /Figure 20 appears here/ /297/ "ait'e" designates at the same time this instrument, a fabulous animal living at the bottom of rivers, and perhaps a kind of face-painting. In one of these two latter forms
614 562 the ait'e makes up a part of the patrimony of the Āróre, who are Tugare. This privilege then can only appertain to them "through the women." In our list of households in Kejara, we have not mentioned the name, sometimes used in our presence, to

[Text continues on P. 36]

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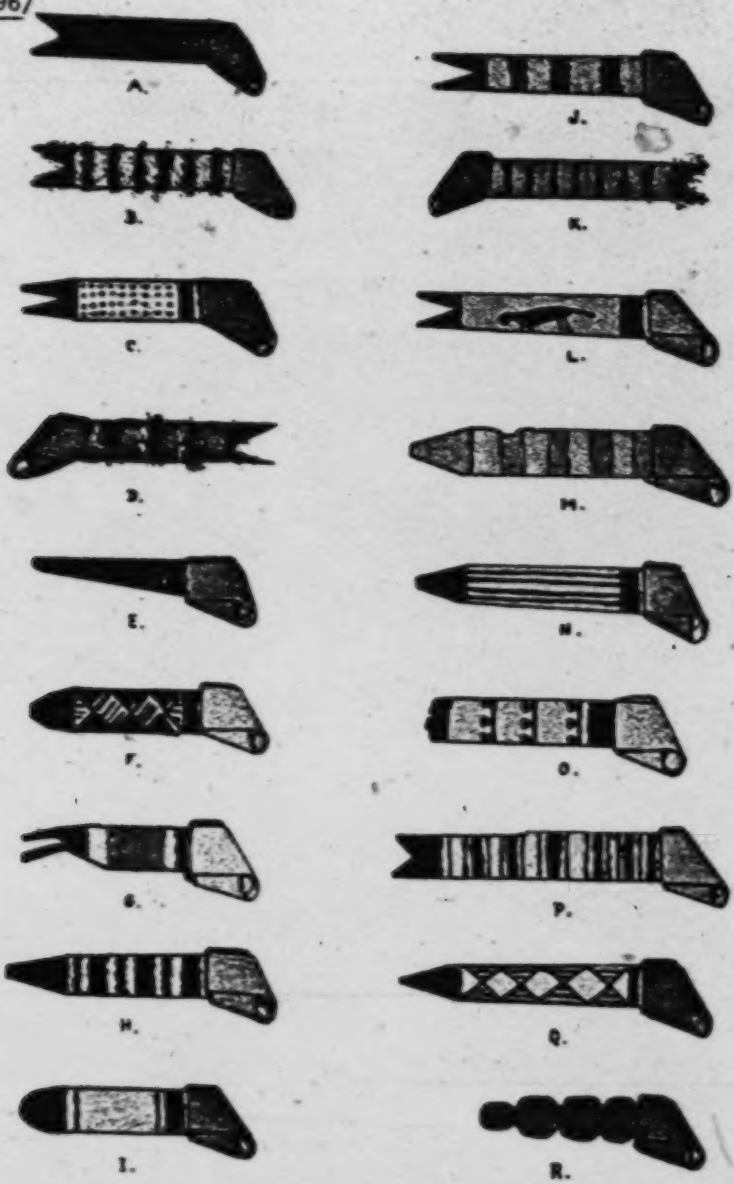

Fig. 20.—Penis bands /in color in original/.

/297 cont./

614 designate the Ãróre ɛ̃ẽbegewõ (No. 13 /see Figure 15, p. 6/),
562 Ait'e Aréme, "the women of the ait'e." This is the only case where we have seen a relationship established between the female element of a clan and its emblems (1).

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1. This expression is all the more curious because, as we know, the Bororo think—or say—that a woman who sees a "bull-roarer" will die. The belief is still very much alive. The first time that we saw "bull-roarers" being made, on the occasion of funeral rites, where this instrument plays a large role, the natives replied to our questions that they were "kitchen utensils." After interminable negotiations with the chief through the medium of his advisors, it was decided to reveal their true nature to us and to sell us some already-made specimens; but not without having revealed to us the tragic consequences which any imprudence on our part would have. To receive the instruments it was necessary to come to the men's house after dark with all that we had in the way of string, paper, and bags. The packing was done by the natives themselves, and they took care that the packages disappeared immediately into the bottom of our trunks. At the time of our departure, as a native and his wife were to accompany us for several days, the same cautionary remarks were repeated, and they made us promise that we would not open the trunks before Cuiabá.

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Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

[283] [345] [283] [286]

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Cera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct °Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

/298 cont./
614 labial pendant. Inanimate nature is also utilized, for water is one of the eponyms of the Bādejebage.

614 773 The relation of the clans with their eponyms is very clearly indicated by native folklore. The collection of narratives and legends which forms the second and most valuable part of Colbacchini's work (1) contains a series of information which it is

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1. Colbacchini, D.A., I Boros orientali Turin, Società editrice internazionale, s. d.

614 787 enough to analyze. In all cases the same process is apparent: the adoption of a name is the result of an individual revelation which has passed into the collective patrimony of the clan. One day a member of the clan met an animal which manifested to him, by a special, gutteral cry, that he was not a common animal but [775] a member of the "spiritual community" (2). This revelation

[562] [885] [775]

2. The term "aroe," which we translate in this manner, signifies both the society of adult men having access to the baitemannanage" and the part of the individual which survives after death.

perhaps indicates that the soul of the beneficiary will live after [775] the death of the body in the form of this animal. One should still not be in too much of a hurry to speak of metempsychosis, for it is less that the soul must be transformed into an animal than that the spiritual nature of the soul, to make itself known to the individual, chooses a special incarnation, most often an animal, but sometimes also the sun, the moon, or some other perceptible medium. Whatever it may be, the individual who has received this revelation adopts /299/ the name of the medium without fail: "The Ibis will be mine," "My name will be Big Arara," etc.

/299 cont./

614 The clan's adoption of the name thus chosen by its illustrious ancestor hence commemorates for all time the miracle or miracles which the descendants make use of as so many titles of nobility. Thus, the names "Merit' awãra," "The Path of the Sun," and "Meriri kurigeõ," "Big Light," which we met in connection with the system of preferential unions, belong respectively, one to the Bãdejeba clan, and the other to the Paiwe clan, by virtue of a legend, one version of which is to be found in Colbacchini:

614 The Indian Paiwe Rikkubugu, going hunting one day, met the
773 sun and the moon on the path of souls. Frightened, he went to relate the event to his father, the Bãdejeba Bakorokuddu, and both of them returned to the spot. The benefit from this common mystical experience entails long discussions between the father and son on their respective rights to its commemoration, and each claims the most suitable names to illustrate the occurrence.

614 In fact it is possible to have competition and rivalry between
571 members of different clans. This is the case shown in the origin
787 of the O Čera. Colbacchini does not mention the existence of this clan, which seems not to have been encountered on the Garças River. But it was a legend of its formation which allowed us to
[E92] establish (and this was confirmed by the natives) that the O Čera clan, which occupies two houses in Kejara aldeia (Fig. 15, Nos. 8 and 9 /see p. 6/) comes from a subdivision of Bãdejebage Čębegeʷõge: Iparéčeba, of the Bãdejebage Čãbogẽʷõge, saw a black ibis which revealed its spiritual nature to him, but several days later his colleague Bãdejeba Čębegeʷõ had the same revelation of a red ibis. They argued over possession of the ibis and ended by dividing the two kinds. The subdivision into blacks and reds, which we indicated in connection with other clans, probably has its origin in the same kind of amiable arrangement.

614 Yet competition is exceptional. For, in the same clan, an
[787] unlimited number of individuals can have mystical experiences. Thus scarcity is less often found than abundance, less often a sharing of eponyms than a veritable accumulation of symbolic names, which recall so many ancestral miracles. Colbacchini

/299 cont./ Colbacchini

614 [114] counts 18 names for the Paiwe, four for the Bokodori, six for the Ki, three for the Bãdejeba, seven for the Ãróre, five for the Ewãguddu, eight for the Apibore, etc.... We did not arrive at an equal /300/ number, but as those which we collected on the Río Vermelho are most often not the same as those which he obtained on the Garças River, it is probable that the true number, expressing the combined whole of different local traditions, is much higher. Moreover, among these names, all do not express rigorously identical traditions. If the Paiwe make use of the names corn, cotton, resin, and tobacco, it is that these plants were born from the ashes of a miraculous child, who in the form of a serpent was conceived by a Paiwe woman. One is hence really in the presence of a commemoration of magical events, in the most general sense of the term.

After this, it is futile to search for another explanation for the origin of the clan eponym than that which is applicable to the collection of names and clan emblems. The eponym is not of a special nature. It only recalls the most striking event, and this is why one finds an illustrious hero just as well as an animal, a plant, or an object. One clan is proud of having brought tobacco to the collectivity, as another recalls that its ancestor was the inventor of the labial pendant. Moreover: this event is not always sufficiently striking to create unanimity among the clan members or among fellow citizens of other clans. Hence the utilization in one village of a name not used elsewhere; hence the secondary divisions of clans.

[775] [787] The maximal expression of the system then would be the following: a philosophical doctrine, based on belief in the reincarnation of the soul in animal form, which took on the quality of a personal revelation for certain individuals, celebrated by their descendants in the form of a commemorative name. It is possible that the Čiba Čera, for example, may have been led to extend to all their descendants the experience of an illustrious ancestor, and may have begun to think that they were all destined to live again in the form of the red arara. But it has not been

/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ewãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in reincarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 773 [262] In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character. [614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 614 [115] These epithets obviously must not be accepted without examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from the beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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115 constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
997 years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čâboge^{w}õ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}õ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}õ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Rio Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čâbōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ^{ak}Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

/302 cont./

571 side, thereby occupying the site which had become free of the
614 Bādejebage Čabōgeʷōge. The existence, the name, and the
616 localization of the Bakoro and Bóro clans are thereby explained.
621 While the term Bādejeba may never be used to designate them,
[634] we shall not hesitate to go on with the identification for three reasons: the Bakoro clan is that of Tušawa, the chief of the Bororo; the name, Bakoro, is a contraction of Bakororo, the original name of the clan; and lastly, the epithet Bóro commemorates an event marking the existence of the Bakororo hero, the inventor of the lip pendant and of all the other ornaments. But the Bādejebage Bakororo clan has not been moved in its entirety. One part, the most important numerically, has remained in place; however, the process of fragmentation has overtaken it also. To the northeast of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge, are, in fact, the two O Čera huts; and we have given proof of the origin of the Bādejeba Čębegeʷō from this clan.

Everything thus occurs as if—after an unknown event, perhaps the extinction of the upstream Chiefs—the clan of the downstream Chiefs had been cut into three parts. One first group of families, itself subdivided into Bakoro and Bóro, seems to have come to occupy the site of the extinct clan; when separating from its clan of origin it appears to have carried away with it the essential prerogative, to wit: providing the principal chief, who has become the only chief.

The rest of the clan, continuing to occupy the western end of the Čera hemicycle, seems to have divided also. One group of families appears to have formed its own clan around the Ibis emblem, the animal famous in the annals of the clan. The remaining families seem to have kept the traditional name and site.

If this hypothesis is correct, it must be admitted that the two secessionist groups have divided up the privileges of the clan. By this is understood that the Bakoro-Bóro on the one hand and the O Čera on the other own /304/ numerous ornaments, whereas the Bādejebage Čębegeʷōge found themselves completely stripped.

/304 cont./

571 For this reason the natives picture them (and they are, in fact)
614 as very poor. For example, one informant said to us, "they only
616 have one type of bow...." This also explains the fact that
621 Tušawa should have "recently" moved his house outside the village
[634] to the other bank of the river, his clan being cut into three sections,
and that at the same time he should have kept property rights to
an O Čera house (his bed is always there). Another reason tends
[592] to show that these changes are recent: the four houses of the
Bādejeba Čębegeʷõ clan were only occupied by some old men,
while the new clans, Bakoro, Bóro, and O, comprised many
[825] younger members. The natives indicated the crocodile, con-
[773] sidered in folklore as the animal of old people, as the eponym
of the Bādejebage Čębegeʷõge.

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Bibliography (1)

1. We have limited this work (with the exception of the two notes) to the exposition of material assembled in the field. For a more complete study the works and articles cited here can be consulted.

080 /The bibliography has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 303-304./

1:Lévi-Strauss---45 ---- E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

142
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A

[301]

B

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C D

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--45a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate VII

Bororo Indians.

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A. Male type.
B. A couple.
C. Penis band, everyday type.
D. Ceremonial penis band.

1:Lévi-Strauss--47 E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

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A

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B

C

/See captions on next page./

1:Lévi-Strauss--47a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate IX

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

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A. The men's house, door of the Tugare.
B. Dance of the Paiwe clan.
C. Dance of the buriti clan.

Plate X

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A

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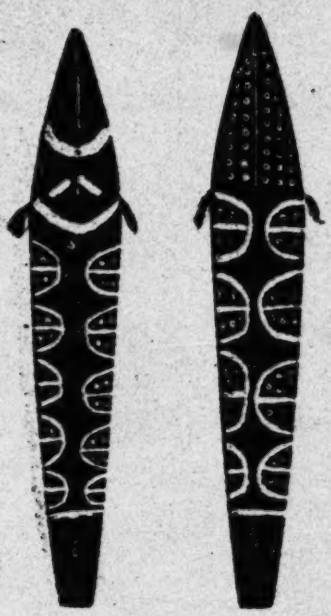
C



D

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1:Lévi-Strauss--48a E-5 (1936) 1936 SP8 Bororo SP8

Plate X

Social Organization of the Bororo Indians.

A. Two Bororo women in festival costumes.
B. The marid'do coming out.
C. "Čiba Čera" Indian in festival costume.
D. Bull-roarer of the "Bóro Čera" clan (two sides shown). Length: 106 cm.

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2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown.

A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(fig. 53, *g*, *h*), being loosely attached with rosin and cord. Bird arrows have a blunt tip (fig. 53, *f*). The groove is chiseled with capybara teeth, which are up to 3 inches (7.6 cm.) long. For releasing the arrow, the archer draws the string with his right middle and ring fingers while the index finger and thumb firmly hold the notch (pl. 86, *top*). The lower part of ceremonial arrows is decorated with feather patterns emblematic of clans (fig. 54); the Porcupine clansfolk, e. g., use a specific arrangement of blue and yellow. All arrows have two spirally twisted feathers, their tops and butt ends being tied on. Wrist-guards are manufactured out of human hair.

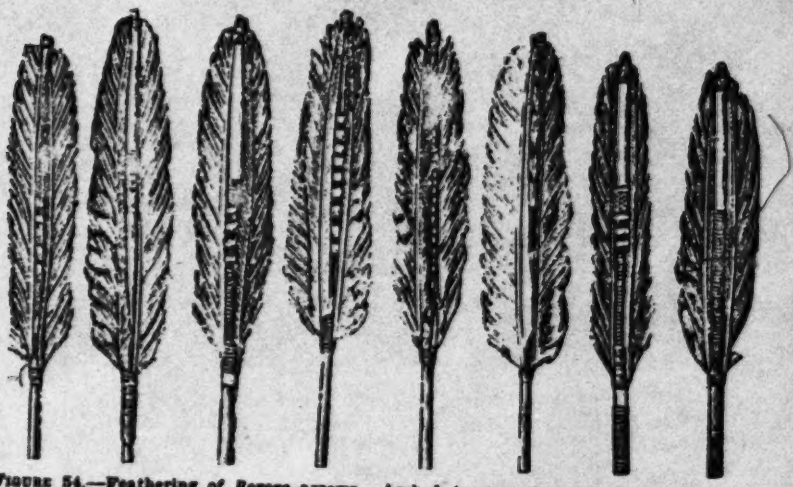

FIGURE 54.—Feathering of *Bororo* arrows. Arched (eastern Brazilian) feathering type. Shafts are decorated with feather tufts. (⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini.)

Miscellaneous.—Fire was formerly drilled with a composite shaft of wild Canella and wild cinnamon (*Pseudocaryophyllus sericeus*) wood. Bamboo splinters served to cut meat held in the mouth; the scraper consisted of a capybara tooth mounted on a stick (fig. 52, *a*); and the *Bulimus* conch was used for a plane. Colbacchini (1925) notes that knives and planes are moved toward the body. Von den Steinen (1894) refers to grooved stone axes as things of the past, but they are pictured without comment by Colbacchini (1925).

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Eastern Bororo* are divided into exogamous, matrilineal moieties, respectively linked with the north and the south side of the village. At Kejara these major divisions bear the untranslated names "Chera" and "Tugare," whose phonetic equivalents Colbacchini (1925) renders as "Weak" and "Strong." The moieties have reciprocal

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal
duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Puberty.—At puberty a boy is initiated through the receipt of a penis sheath, which frees him from his mother's custody, entitling him to see the bull-roarer (figs. 52, *o*; 55) and to attend rites from which

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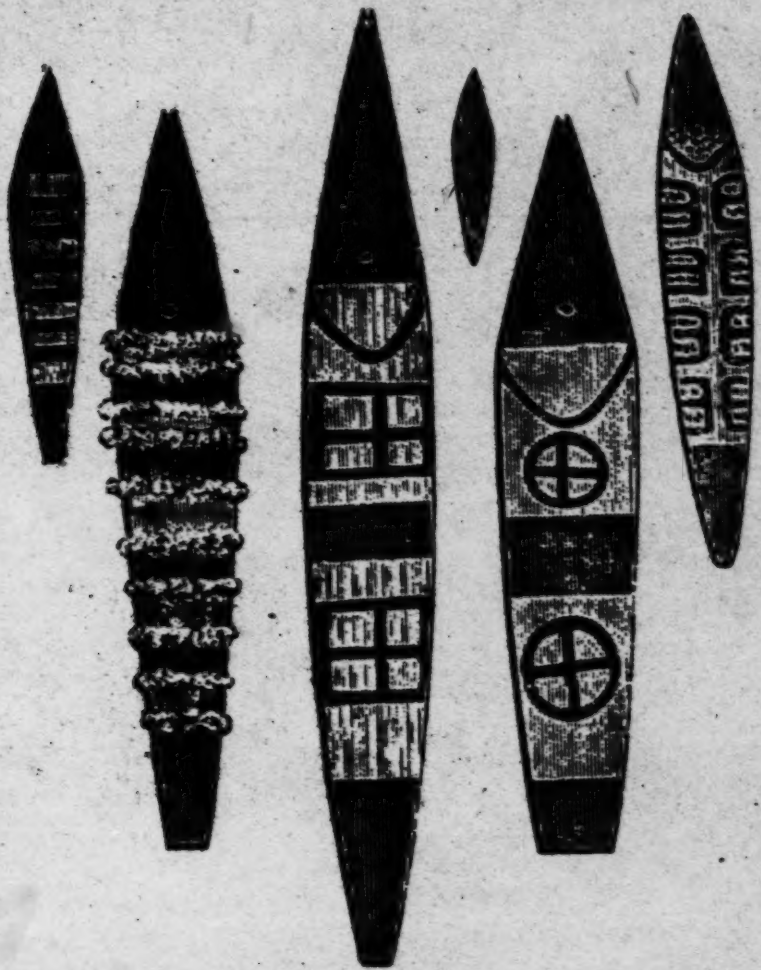

FIGURE 52.—Bull-roarers with various clan designs. (Approximately ⅛ natural size.) (After Colbacchini, 1925.)

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[616]

women are excluded. One chief begins trying on the sheath for the novice, and a sponsor from the moiety complementary to the boy's completes the act. His mother and kin wail at the initiation. He is not permitted to sleep that night, because to do so would be injurious to him.

[827]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

of the dead are invited to a general repast. Women bring food to the door, but never enter it. The bones are painted with urucú, then the man's clan colors are put on in feathers; a mat screens the decorators from the women brought to join in the songs. The skull is decorated with feathers and shown to the mourners, then all the bones are put into the basket. Once more the kin gash themselves, finally a woman takes the basket on her back, and hangs it from a stick planted near the hut of the deceased. The next morning the hunter, impersonating the dead man, and the mourners bury the basket in a stream at a depth of several meters, with a stick projecting above the water.

On the São Lourenço River the corpse is interred in the woods 2 or 3 days after death, and the ultimate fleshing and disposal of the bones occurs a fortnight later.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The *Bororo* draw hunting scenes in the sand, e. g., an Indian shooting a tapir. They also will dig up sand so as to mark a beast's contours, then fill in the pit with grayish-white ashes, denoting the eyes and a jaguar's spots with dark sand. Bull-roarers are typically blackened at the ends, the intervening space receiving a coat of urucú as background for black designs; Von den Steinen (1894) notes as two main motifs women's bark girdles or bands, and semicircles enclosing dots to represent the skulls prepared for burial. His semicircles are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, but with a single semicircle above them, whereas Lévi-Strauss' (1936) illustrations show merely two vertical series of dot-enclosing semicircles, which differ from Von den Steinen's (1894) sample in being halved by a horizontal stroke. Colored designs figure prominently on decorative arrows, the precise arrangement of the colors and the length of the painted bands being more significant as clan emblems than, say, the use of blue and yellow by itself. The red and black designs serving as clan badges on the pennants of penis sheaths likewise require notice under this head. These decorations are not always wholly geometrical, for the pennant of a Tapir clan sheath displays the realistic shape of a puma. On the skin worn in the *Western Bororo* Jaguar dance, witnessed by Koslowsky (1895 b), a series of filled-in hourglass figures, each pair enclosing a blank lozenge, constitute the chief design.

Games.—Archery and wrestling are athletic sports. The latter, which may beguile the time during a spinning-bee in the men's house, has a definite technique with tripping of the opponent and thrusts at the hollow of his knee. A toy consists of a ball of maize husks decorated with arara feathers.

Musical instruments.—These included deer-hoof and gourd rattles; whistles to signal in hunting; complex trumpets with bamboo

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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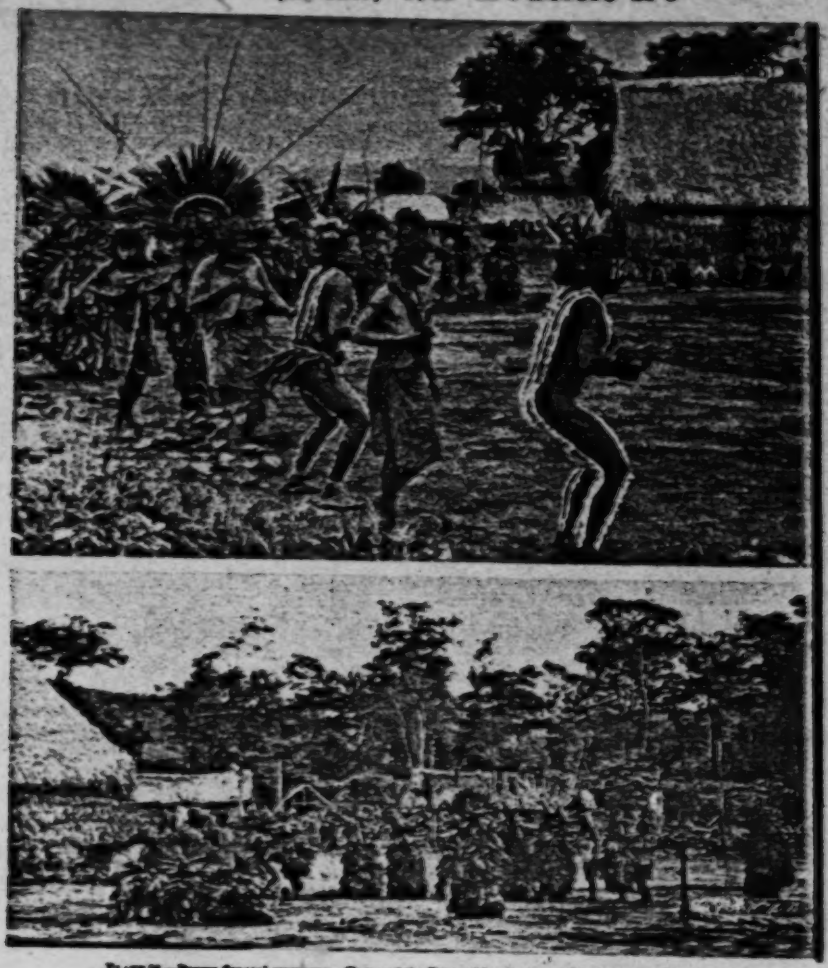

PLATE III.—Bororo funeral ceremony. Dance of the Exequibis club, some dancers in leaf costumes, others decorated with down. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

[P.432-F]

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

(2) Radically distinct is the cult of the dead (aroe). Every aroe is tangibly represented in two ways: by its impersonator at the funeral ceremony, and by a flageolet with a gourd bearing the distinctive clan designs and preserved by the dead person's clansmen in memory of him. The aroe come to the village to eat, drink, or dance; foretell the future; cause illness; and otherwise intimately affect the daily life of the Indians. The aroe commune with the Indians through a medium, the aroettawarari, whom they possess or enlighten in dreams and who may summon them by a special ceremony.

The aroettawarari naturally may not perform the rite of offering food sacred to the bope, but his other duties are largely similar. On behalf of clients he may call the aroe who possess him, led by their spokesman. Treatment of the sick here, too, requires smoking, blowing, suction, and expectoration; and the doctor utters his prognosis. However, in these cases disease seems to be ascribed to the stench emitted by certain aroe. The call comes to the aroettawarari in a manner similar to that followed in the bari's initiation; only the beings that bless him are of a distinct category. Often in the shape of a tapir he allows himself to be pursued by the hunters and even to be killed. Then he resumes his normal form and eats of the slain tapir. Anciently, no woman could be a bari; the office of aroettawarari, however, was open to both sexes.

Notwithstanding the theoretical antithesis and actual animosity of the two types of practitioners, it happens that the same person holds both offices. Tonelli (1927) surmises that this may have originated in villages without a bari, hence deprived of the chance of eating some vital foods unless the power of consecrating them were transferred to the rival office. That the close parallels noted between the two types of medicine men go back to a single origin cannot be doubted.

MYTHOLOGY

The twin heroes, Bakororo and Itubori, figure as exemplars and transformers; Bakororo plays the major part and is associated with a musical instrument used ceremonially. The myth resembles a common Brazilian tale: A jaguar who has conquered an Indian in wrestling permits him to depart in return for the loser's daughter, whom the victor marries. He warns her against his grandmother, a caterpillar, who makes the wife fall dead from laughter. Returning, he performs a Caesarean operation to extract the twins, who burn the old hag in order to avenge their mother. On learning that a falcon has eaten their mother, they kill it. Then Bakororo orders the species to abstain henceforth from human flesh, ordaining what shall be its food; and he similarly fixes the proper sustenance for hitherto man-eating storks, parrots, fish, and snakes. The souls of the dead go either to Bakororo in the extreme west, or to Itubori in the extreme east.

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 614

*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or

*601 613 cheyadumoge (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of Iyorubodare (fem. Iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women, however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is considered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

551 14. Marido Paradu
613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagudu-doge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the
551 spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifica-tions to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
● 614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakorokudu	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
3. Ocha Kudurou	Echerae	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
4. Badajeba Kudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	Echerae
5. Ki Bakororo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	Echerae
6. Jakorari	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	Echerae
7. Kuruguwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Kiye	Echerae
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	Echerae
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	Echerae
10. Mamuyawuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Echerae
11. Bokwarebo	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Echerae
12. Akaruyo Bokodori	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Echerae
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Echerae
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	Tugarege
17. Kuruguwa	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	Tugarege
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Apiborege	Tugarege
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Araroe	Tugarege
20. Birimodo	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Araroe	Tugarege
21. Butoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	Tugarege
22. Jakomwa Atugodojeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	Tugarege
23. Koge Enogwa Tabowu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	Tugarege
24. Aroya Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Ivagududoge	Tugarege
25. Tadugo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Ivagududoge	Tugarege
26. Mano Kurirou	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Araroe	Tugarege

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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• 614
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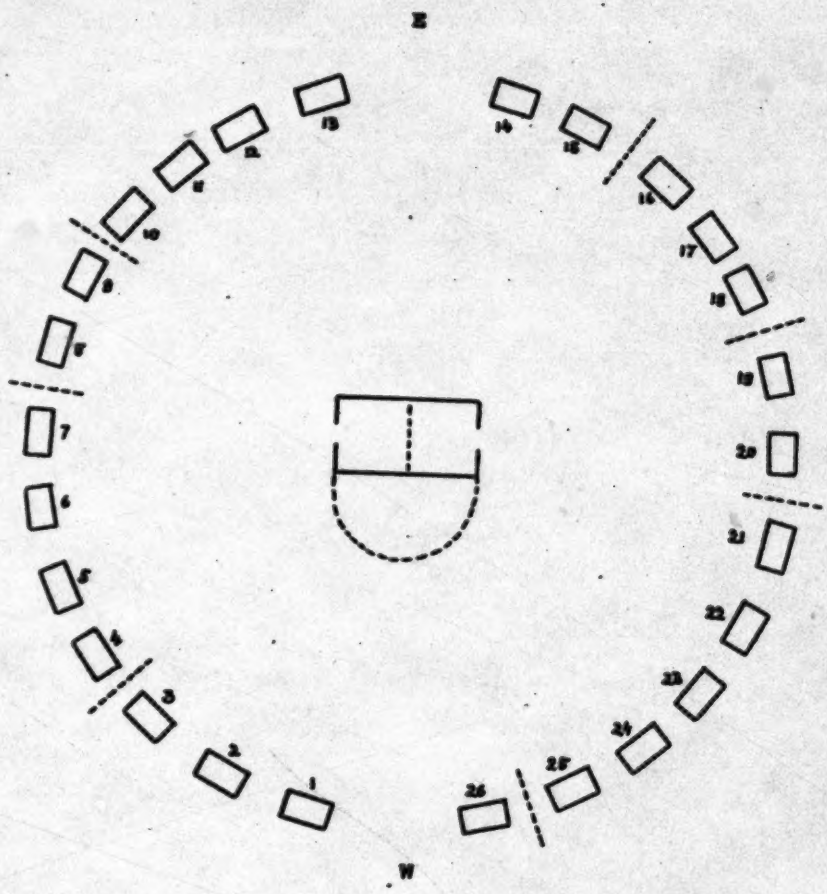

made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the fnformants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and subclans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used
823 for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is
829 regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 This division does not correspond to the division of
823 the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge
829 (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They [775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu Magurereu Arigao Kocha Kiogo Birigedo Porireu Imorio Bokodori Akiri Bokodori Baru Barogo Bororo	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Barame Chibae Edugo Koge Edugo Koge Ekureu Koiwo Kuri Echerae Etuviye Inokuri	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

Set A

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba) →	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge
Bakorokudu (Badajeba) →	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

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Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

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Set B

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

613 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic
614 designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

Set D

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Mamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
714 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (Baitogogo uvegedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

• 614 827 [421] It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "Marido (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is marido" (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is marido the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge 614 themselves are marido. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu- 825 dudoge clan are okiwa (capybara), araru, (a fish), jarudo (a 827 fish), kido (parakeet), pobureu (vulture), chiwaje (turkey buzzard), aere (a kind of goatsucker), mokureabo (a kind of

goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), ariqaodoge choreuge and kujaqureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridoqwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivaqudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

"People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariqa and konoriqi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariqa otoji, konoriqi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariqa (a variety of grasshopper) and konoriqi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridoqwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kiqadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	kowaqije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

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[825] faces are black."[2]

613 At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in
827 which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is de-
578 scribed: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena piiiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

614 Most names of the clans are also derived from some of
827 the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825] "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 827 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegi-
wuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 827 825 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemega-guragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966: 62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969:
614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den
616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the
827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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1 Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

614 616 827 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice; they transformed certain insects into birds. To a certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 561 [192] Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language. One is always older or younger. In the myths, even twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger. [773] 844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one child after another in succession, never to two at once. And so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 571 114 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963: 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities, participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into subclans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and subclans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In reporting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ancestors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Araroe have araro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Araroe have araro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers. The division is not restricted only to animals; many other beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differentiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

(black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an equatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea); ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

A, [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

822 796 237 302 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors representing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented 614 822 with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is, then, expressed through the opposition of black and white. [825] For example, bakuguma choreu (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, bakuguma tororeu (white falcon) to the Red; aroe echeba choreu (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, aroe echeba tororeu (white harpy eagle) to the Red; aere choreu (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, aere tororeu (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 [796] [825] [827] [614] The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. Parabara eimejerá (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor of the Black Apiborege, parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (ki onaregedu). In this context onaregedu does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term onaregedu can be replaced by oro, which means young of the same kind: marido oro are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 614 827 The kurireu (big)-kugurireu (small) distinction also finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. Buturoe (a kind of larvae) kurireu are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, buturoe kugurireuge of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 Okoge (a fish of the Salmonidae family) kurireuge belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, okoge kugurireuge to the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their yorubodare Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their yorubodare Small subclans. For example, nabure (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. Nabure imedu (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; nabure aredu (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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619 796 Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all okoge kurireuge (big okoge). Kaigu gives the representation of one okoge eimejera (one chief of okoge) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other okoge eimejera is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of okoge aredu (female okoge) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivadududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of okoge, all okoge kugurireuge (small okoge), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [561] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called ararureu. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The ararureu of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the ararureu of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called ikuye ika, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 301 [561] are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with successive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 237 411 822 [561] The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow belongs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagududoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black and red, the objects painted black belong to the more important subclan, those painted red to the less important one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 822 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black, red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujaqureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order. Black is more important than the mixture of black and red, which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green), dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt), which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the middle two long feathers of kuruqugwa (a kind of hawk). The Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and yellow feathers and has only one feather of kuruqugwa at its ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition, the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger brother relationship because of the differential value that it would put on the activities they command. On the other hand, in many contexts these activities are differently valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
304 the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that Boroge did just the same (Boroge rore ino jamedu). Baitogogo was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the same way. The Ivagududoge gave tugo choreu or imedu (the black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and tugo kujegureu or aredu (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave bakuguma choreu (the black falcon) to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugi-
[825] wuge. The Apiborege gave aroe echeba choreu (the black harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, aroe echeba tororeu (the white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly they gave parabara eimejera (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and parabara onaregedu (the young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel com-
614 pelled to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies, songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

The ornaments on top of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way. We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories about the creation of the rivers according to which the waters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

773 616 571 [776] Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Araroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

571 changed:
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614
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, poburеu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
301 ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[616] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kuruguguwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Hugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
[772] shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

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787
764denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
302the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
673She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
634also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child be-
comes a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only
626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted
178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was
[527] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants
614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

/117 cont./

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Each clan has its special ornaments. The Bororo Mario Bokodori Kudde, in Sangradouro, described to me, for example, the ornaments illustrated by Padre Colbacchini in his book I Bororos Orientali, pp. 48 and 49, as belonging to the following clans: 1 -- akario bokodori baaddageba; 2 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and manna; 3 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae and vie; 5 -- bokodori, okogue, tchibae etcherae tchebegiugue; 6 -- kie; 7 -- bakorokuddu baaddageba; 1' -- paiwe kujaguréugue; 2 -- apiburegue; 3' -- aorore kujaguréugue; 4' -- iwaguddudogue kujaguréugue; 6' -- aorore tchoréugue. Each one of these ornaments belongs to the following clans designated by the numbers above:

/118/

Colbacchini, p. 48: 7 1 1
6 3 5 2 1
1
1 1 1 1 7 1 6' 2' 4' 6'

Colbacchini, p. 49: 6 6 6 6
2 6
2 2 2 1
7 6 7 7 1 2 2 7
1' 7 7
3' and 6'
1 and 7

/127 cont./

616 The "halves" of the Bororo are not, patrilineal, however,
• 614 like the ones of the Kaingang, but are matrilineal. They are not each divided, as among the Kaingang, into two "groups," but into seven, which I shall designate with the term "clan."

553 Whereas among the Kaingang, where the child belongs to
[614] the father's "half," he gives the name to the son and to the daughter, the name is given to the children of the matrilineal tribe of the Bororo by the mother's brother or by another of her older relatives. The Bororo told me concerning this: "The one who gives the name thinks and thinks and thinks and afterwards gives the name. It is the name of a dead relative. Each one has only one name during his whole life. A few days after the birth, the one who gives the name lifts the arms of the
[304] little boy or girl and says the name. Afterwards he also
[562] pierces by means of a bone the lower lip of the boy."

Antonio Tonelli ("Il nome dei vivi e dei defunti [aroe]
551 presso gl'Indi Orari [Bororo Orientali] del Matto Grosso
[113] /The name of the living and the dead [aroe] among the Orari Indians [Eastern Bororo] of the Mato Grosso/," Festschrift für P. W. Schmidt, St. Gabriel -- Mödling, p. 734) describes a communication mode by the Bororo Tiago Marques Aipobureu, according to which the names of each Bororo might be four, six, and even more.

/128/ According to von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503), the
[614] names designate animals and plants. Colbacchini (A tribu dos
[616] Bororos, pp. 48 and 49) confirms this and adds: "The proper or personal names are derived from animals or plants or from some ancient hero of theirs; only to the members of the group to which the individuals belong are such names applied, so that not only the two dynasties ("halves" [H.B.]) of the Tugarege and Cerae have proper names specified for their members, but also each group has names exclusively reserved for its own individuals, not being applicable to those of another group, even though of the same dynasty and caste.

/128 cont./

614 For example: the group of the Apiborege of the caste of the
551 Tugarege uses these names Trua cereu, Adugo meri, Iparegiri, and others; the Paiwe of the same caste use, among many others, these: Meriri Prado, Cerae Togiú, Meriri cooáa. Never, however, will there be promiscuousness between the names of the two groups; never will the Apiborege use the names of the Paiwe, and vice versa, even though they belong to the same dynasty of the Tugarege. The same custom governs the Cerae, who will never use the proper names of the Tugarege, nor of the groups of them. For example: the Bocodori cerae, the Coge cibae cerae, the Aorori take the following proper names for members of their families: Wororeu, Coge kigadurêu, Woro mugureu; the Kié have for their own use the following: Toro Pradu, Ukeparabara, Aurajokívo. There will never be a case of a family of the Bocodori giving its members names used by the the Kié. --
551 To the animal or vegetable being whose name they use,
824 they do not attribute any cult or worship, /129/ or any
825 consideration. For example: an individual to whom the name of Piodudo (hummingbird or colibri) was given will not for this reason profess any special respect for this bird, nor will the hummingbirds for this reason have any immunity. The same happens in relation to other animals or plants."

854 In general, the child, in its first years, is taken care of by
859 the mother.

000 Vaerting (o.c., pp. 6-9) designated as a result of female predominance the custom known from some regions of ancient Europe, Africa, and Asia, according to which the woman
[171] takes the initiative in love and in marriage. Similar behavior was observed among some South American tribes; let there be mentioned, for example, the Choroti in the Chaco (Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben /Indian Life/, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 86-90).

/136 cont./

• 614 A consequence of the matrilineal organization, which, at the same time, characterizes the preponderant social importance of the woman, is the fact that a clan is destined to become extinct as soon as the women are missing. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 50) also refers to that.

595 In general the Bororo are monogamous. Colbacchini (o.c., p. 57) observes in this respect: "The few sporadic cases of polygamy that are found are disapproved by all. The case of latent polygamy takes place, ordinarily, when a man marries a woman who has /137/ a young daughter, or when he marries a young girl whose mother, a widow or without a husband, is still young. In this case polygamy is easy, even though hidden, because officially the man will be the husband of the mother or of the daughter and never of the daughter and mother."

The Bororo spoke to me of such cases of bigamy, which is confirmed by the following observation by Karl von den Steinen [622] (o.c., p. 501): "In Thereza Christina, apparently only Moguyokuri (the chief) lived in polygamy. His wives were a woman of a certain age and a daughter of her first marriage; he married a widow who had a daughter, and when the mother became ugly and the daughter became pretty, he "married" the daughter also."

Von den Steinen (ibidem) adds, however: "But, in the aldeias, polygamy of the elders is generally the rule." This author seems to assume this, basing himself only on the report by Waehneldt about the Bororo on the Jaurú (mentioned on the same page), because he did not visit the aldeias personally. If we were inclined to establish a connections between the fact that in general monogamy exists among the Bororo and only in rare cases bigamy with mother and daughter, and the institution according to which the daughter lives with the mother all her life, the husband goes to live in her house

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi
Bororo SPP
[P.127-B]

APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

6/6 6/7 daughter's husband is also *yelága*. Boys are *méde*, girls are *aríde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *iwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

[881] Children before puberty are just *méde* (boy) and *aríde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aríde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the [884] ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

6/6
6/14

Cherúde clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Klédo.
5. Borótcheré.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaríde clans

1. Aríri.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tehibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tobóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

601 616 daughter's husband is also *yedága*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwíye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. [304] After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

Cheráide clans

616 1. Bokodóri.
614 2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Óchera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
   b. Arurécha tchibú-giwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tohóreu.
   b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]